

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUN 1 5 2010

<u>CERTIFIED MAIL</u> RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Matthew J. Werner 14 North Sierra Madre Street Colorado Springs, CO 80903

RE: MUR 6038

Doug Lamborn, et al.

Dear Mr. Werner:

On April 27, 2010, the Federal Election Commission reviewed the allegations in your complaint dated July 1, 2008, and found that on the basis of the information provided in your complaint and information provided by the Respondents: (1) there is no reason to believe that Lamborn for Congress and Kathleen Ann Rockefeller, in her official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 434(b) in connection with the allegations as to Club for Growth State Action; (2) there is no reason to believe that Club for Growth State Action violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b; (3) there is no reason to believe that Tactical Data Solutions, Inc.; Blue Point, LLC; Liberty Service Corp.; Tom Bjorklund; Christopher Baker; Jonathan Hotaling; Mark Hotaling; Chuck Gosnell; or Doug Lamborn violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, in connection with the allegations in this matter. The Commission dismissed on the basis of prosecutorial discretion the allegations that (1) Christian Coalition of Colorado violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b, and the allegations that (2) Lamborn for Congress and Kathleen Ann Rockefeller, in her official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 434(b) as to Christian Coalition of Colorado. Accordingly, on June 4, 2010, the Commission closed the file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003). The Factual and Legal Analyses, which more fully explain the Commission's findings, are enclosed, and a Statement of Reasons providing a basis for the Commission's decision will follow.

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The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Sincerely,

Julie McConnell

Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures: Factual and Legal Analyses

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Respondent: Lamborn for Congress and MUR: 6038

Kathleen Ann Rockefeller, in her official capacity as

Treasurer

1 I. INTRODUCTION

2	This matter arises	out of a complain	t alleging that C	lub for Growti	n State Action

- 3 ("CFGSA") coordinated its communications with Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn
- 4 Committee") by using the same voter list used by the Lamborn eampaign to send flyers
- 5 attacking Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's
- 6 5th Congressional District. The complaint also requests that, based on new information,
- 7 the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") reopen MUR 5774, which
- 8 concerned similar allegations against the same respondents.
- 9 CFGSA appears to have purchased an unenhanced list containing publicly-
- available voter data from TDS, and thus this transaction does not appear to have met any
- of the coordination conduct standards. Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to
- believe that the Lamborn Committee violated 2 U.S.C §§ 441h and 434(b) by receiving
- and failing to report prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of coordinated
- 14 communications from CFGSA.

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II. <u>FACTUAL BACKGROUND</u>

16 A. 2006 Complaint

- Doug Lamborn was a candidate in the open Republican Primary in Colorado's 5th
- 18 Congressional District, held on August 8, 2006, and won the nomination with 27 percent
- 19 of the votc. In a complaint filed in 2006, MUR 5774, Robert Gardner alleged that

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- 1 Lamborn's authorized committee obtained the names and addresses of absentee voters
- 2 from the El Paso County Clerk and Recorder and provided them to CFGSA and Christian
- 3 Coalition, and that these organizations used the addresses to send mailers to voters
- 4 attacking two of Lamborn's primary opponents, Jeff Crank and Lionel Rivera, in July
- 5 2006. The 2006 complaint relied on a series of inferences that two recipients received
- 6 the flyers at their work addresses, which they had used to request absentee ballots; that
- 7 only the Lamborn Committee and four other entities had requested absentee voter data
- 8 from the county elerk's office; and that the Lamborn Committee and Christian Coalition
- 9 were closely connected because Jonathan Hotaling, Lamborn's campaign manager, and
- 10 Mark Hotaling, the Executive Director of Christian Coalition, are brothers to conclude
- 11 that CFGSA and Christian Coalition received the addresses from the Lamborn
- 12 Committee. Because the allegations were speculative, and the respondents provided
- information sufficient to rebut them, the Commission found no reason to believe that the
- 14 respondents violated the Act. 1

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B. 2008 Complaint

- In 2008, a different complainant, Matthew Werner, submitted the instant
- 17 complaint styled as a "Request to Reopen" MUR 5774. Although this complaint
- incorporates by reference the information from the 2006 complaint, it also alleges that
- 19 TDS sold the same voter list to CFGSA through a sub-vendor, Blue Point LLC, which

See MUR 5774 (Lamborn for Congress), First General Counsel's Report dated Nov. 17, 2006, at 4, available at http://eos.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A19.pdf, and Certification dated Nov. 27, 2006, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A1A.pdf.

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- 1 used the absentee voter list to send CFGSA mailers criticizing Lamborn's primary
- 2 opponents for their positions on tax issues.²
- 3 The list at issue included the names and addresses of registered Republican voters
- 4 who had requested absentee ballots in El Paso County the county that accounted for 83
- 5 percent of voters in the 5th District³ and identified which voters had returned their
- 6 absentee ballots. Many voters in Colorado vote by absentee ballot, and in the 2006 5th
- 7 District Republican primary, early and absentee votes accounted for 42.6 percent of all
- 8 ballots cast. 6 Lamborn's campaign reportedly targeted absentee voters, using the
- 9 absentee voter list to call and canvass voters and send multiple direct-mail flyers.
- 10 Absentee ballots apparently played a determinative role in the election: before absentee
- 11 votes were counted, Lamborn's opponent, Jeff Crank, was ahead in the vote count, but

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See id. at 99 9-13.

See Brin Emery, Absentees Key in Springs: Lamborn Focused 5th District Campaign on Mail-In Ballots, DENVER POST, Aug. 10, 2006, at B5.

See Farina Aff. at 99 5, 6.

Sec id. at ¶ 5; see generally Kirk Johnson, In Colorado, Voting by Mail Alters both Campaign Strategies, NY TIMES, Oct. 17, 2008, at A19; John Ingold, Mail-ins Changing Election Equation: The Number of Ballots Already in Voters' Hands is Forcing an Earlier Start to Campaigning, DENVER POST, Aug. 10, 2008, at B1; Karen Crummy, Early Votes Blunt October "Surprises:" In Some States, 50 Percent Cast Ballots before Election Day, Altering Political Parties' Campaign Tactics, DENVER POST, Oct. 15, 2006, at A1.

See Emery, supra n. 3.

⁷ See id.

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- 1 Lamborn won when El Paso County posted the results from its absentee voters.
- 2 Jonathan Hotaling reportedly commented, "We out-hustled the other campaigns on the
- 3 absentees, and we won absentees overwhelmingly, 2-to-1 over Jeff Crank. ... Other
- 4 candidates were out talking to the general populace, but when we knew a voter had a
- 5 ballot in their hand, we went to them."9
- 6 The complaint centers on the following players and transactions.

7 PLAYERS

- TDS, a political campaign data management firm headquartered in Grand
 Junction, Colorado, that collects, assembles, and sells voter data information,
 including donor files, survey data, personal contact information, master voter
 files, and phone records. The CEO and Chairman of TDS is Tom Bjorklund.
- Jonathan Hotaling, who, at the time of the alleged coordination, was the campaign manager for Lamborn and a board member of TDS. 11
- Liberty Service Corp. (a/k/a Liberty Media), a sub-vendor owned and operated by
 Jonathan Hotaling. Liberty Service Corp. contracted with Lamborn for
 Congress during the 2006 election cycle to perform campaign management
 services, including database management and enhancement, and contracted with
- TDS to obtain their specialized data management and enhancement services.

See id.; see also Dick Foster and Joe Garner, Late Surge by Lamborn Stuns Crank: El Paso's Absentees Set Up Race Against Democrat Fawcett, ROCKY MTN. NEWS, Aug. 9, 2006, at A7 ("[W]hen about 17,000 absentee votes were released... Lamborn immediately went from trailing Crank by 1,500 votes to victory."); Anthony Surace, Was the Crank/Lamborn Race a Preview of McCain/Obama?, ROCKY MTN. RIGHT, at http://roekymountaimight.com/?a=node/428 (Oct. 30, 2008) ("As the results from the 2006 Republican primary in CD-5 rolled in on election night[,] Jeff Crank took a decent lead over Doug Lamborn. Crank was ahead of Lamborn in every county including El Paso[,] and every major media outlet in the state declared him the victor. Much to everyone's surprise, El Paso County entered all of the absentee ballots [after] the other votes had been tailled. The electorate had turned so sharply [against] Lamborn in the final days of the election that Crank won the votes on election day and the final days of early voting. Lamborn's lead in the absentee votes cast weeks prior was enough to negate all of Crank's gains.").

Emery, supra 0. 3.

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 3; TDS Website, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/contact.html (last visited Sept. 14, 2009).

¹² See Farina Aff. at T 3, 8.

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 7; Liberty Service Corp., Articles of Incorporation (Aug. 15, 2000).

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- 1 CFGSA, a 501(c)(4) organization that serves as the "umbrella group" for Club for Growth's state affiliates. 13
- Blue Point LLC, a political consulting firm hired by CFGSA to create, design, print, and mail three anti-tax flyers to absentee voters in El Paso County,
 Colorado, over the course of four days in July 2006. 14 Christopher Baker is the
- 6 principal of Blue Point, 15

ALLEGED TRANSACTIONS

- TDS collected data identifying which voters had requested absentee voters and which voters had returned their absentee ballots from Jonathan Hotaling and from county elerks and recorders. TDS then "enhanced" this data using approximately 10-14 different processes and deemed it fit for resale. To
- TDS sold the enhanced absentee voter data to Liberty Service Corp., a sub-vendor owned by Jonathan Hotaling that provided media and fundraising consulting to the Lamborn Committee. The Lamborn campaign apparently used this voter list to target absentee voters.
- TDS also sold the absentee voter list to Blue Point, which used it to send CFGSA mail pieces. Farina allegedly received a call from a representative of Blue Point, presumably Christopher Baker, and transferred the call to Tom Bjorklund, who later told Farina that the voter data would be used by CFGSA as part of its efforts in the 5th District. Bjorklund also allegedly informed Farina that

See Chris Casteel, Group Funding Lawmaker's Ad, DAILY OKLAHOMAN, June 24, 2006; see also CFGSA, 2007 Form 990 (Jul. 31, 2008), available at http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2007/900/135/2007-900135424-048a645d-90.pdf.

See MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶ 5-7, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A17.pdf; MUR 5774, Compl. Attach. 2-4, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A0F.pdf.

See MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶ 2; cf. MUR 5609 (Club for Growth), First General Coursel's Report dated Aug. 5, 2005, at 4, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00004846.pdf.

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 6.

See TDS Services, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/services.html (last visited Sept. 14, 2009).

See Farina Aff. at ¶¶ 7-8; see also Lamborn for Congress, 2006 July Quarterly Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$15,000 disbursement to Liberty Service Corp. for media and fundraising consulting).

See Emery, supra n.6; cf. MUR 5774, Complaint at 2 (identifying Lamborn for Congress as a recipient of absentee voter data from the El Paso County Clerk and Recorder); Lamborn for Congress, 2006 Pre-Primary Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$250 disbursement to El Paso County Clerk and Recorder for absentee voter information); Lamborn for Congress, Amended July Quarterly Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$450 disbursement for absentee voter information).

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 10-13; MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶ 7, 8, 10.

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 10.

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Jonathan Hotaling had referred Blue Point to TDS and instructed Farina not to tell anyone about this because it was "a gray area."²²

3 III. <u>LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>

- 4 According to the complaint, CFGSA coordinated with the Lamborn Committee
- 5 when they used the same voter lists to send flyers attacking Lamborn's opponents in the
- 6 5th District Republican primary, resulting in prohibited in-kind contributions.
- 7 See 2 U.S.C. § 441b. Under the Act, an expenditure made by any person "in cooperation,
- 8 consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of a candidate constitutes
- 9 an in-kind contribution. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20(a). A
- 10 communication is coordinated with a candidate or candidate committee when: (1) the
- 11 communication is paid for by a person other than that candidate, authorized committee or
- agent thereof; (2) the communication satisfies at least one of the four "content" standards
- described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c);²³ and (3) the communication satisfies at least one of

See id. at § 11. This paragraph states, "I referred the caller from Blue Point to Tom Bjorkland. He told me that John Hotaling had referred Blue Point to TDS, and he also told me not to teil anyone about it, because it was, in his words, 'a gray area." Although it is unclear from this wording whether "he" refers to the caller from Blue Point or Bjorklund, based on Christopher Baker's affidavit attesting that he had no knowledge that TDS directly or indirectly provided voter lists to the Lamborn campaign, we assume that Bjorklund was the source of this information.

After the decision in Shays v. FEC, 414 F.3d 76 (D.C. Cir. 2005) (Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court's invalidation of the fourth, or "public communication," content standard of the coordinated communications regulation), the Commission made revisions to 11 C.F.R. § 109.21 that became effective July 10, 2006. In a subsequent challenge by Shays, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia held that the Commission's content and conduct standards of the coordinated communications regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c) and (d) violated the Administrative Procedure Act; however, the court did not vacate the regulations or enjoin the Commission from enforcing them. See Shays v. FEC, 508 F.Supp.2d 10, 70-71 (D.D.C. Sept. 12, 2007) (Shays III) (granting in part and denying in part the respective parties' motions for summary judgment). The D.C. Circuit affirmed the district court with respect to, inter alia, the content standard for public communications made before the time frames specified in the standard, and the rule for when former campaign employees and common vendors may share material information with other persons who finance public communications. See Shays v. FEC, 528 F.3d 914 (D.C. Cir. 2008) (Shays III Appeal). On October 8, 2009, the Commission began a rulemaking to comply with this ruling. See Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, Coordinated Communications, 74 Fed. Reg. 53,893 (Oct. 21, 2009).

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- the six "conduct" standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d). See 11 C.F.R. 1
- 2 8 109.21(a).
- 3 The first and second prongs of the coordination regulations are met. The flyers
- 4 were paid for by CFGSA, not the Lamborn Committee, see 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1), and
- 5 the mailings were "public communications" identifying Lamborn's primary opponents,
- directed to 5th District absentee voters, and sent within 90 or 120 days before the primary 6
- election.²⁴ See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(4). Therefore, the only question is whether the 7
- 8 alleged activities satisfy any of the conduct standards.

A. Publicly Available Source Safe Harbor

Before applying the conduct standards, we first examine a threshold issue of 11 whether the voter data was obtained from a "publicly available source," and is thus 12 excluded from the "material involvement," "substantial discussion," "common vendor," 13 and "former employee" conduct standards. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(d)(2)-(5); Revised 14 Explanation and Justification, Coordinated Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33,190. 15 33,205 (Jun. 8, 2006). Under this safe harbor, a communication that uses public 16 information (e.g., information from newspaper or magazine articles, candidate speeches 17 or interviews, materials on a candidate's website or other publicly available website. 18 transcripts from television shows, and press releases) is not a coordinated communication

19 unless it meets the "request or suggestion" conduct standard. See Revised E&J. 71 Fed.

20 Reg. at 33.205. The person paying for the communication bears the burden of showing

Effective July 10, 2006, section 109.21(c) requires a "public communication" within 90 days of a House or Senate election, as opposed to the previous 120-day standard. See Explanation and Justification, Coordinated Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33,190, 33,197-98 (Jul. 10, 2006). It is unclear whether the mailers in this case were distributed before or after the effective date of this change, but the alleged activities appear to have occurred well within either time frame - the July 11, 13, 15, and 18, 2006 dates cited in the complaint were 28 or fewer days before the primary election. See Complaint at 2.

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- 1 that the information used in creating, producing, or distributing the communication was
- 2 obtained from a publicly available source for example, by demonstrating that media
- 3 buying strategies regarding a communication were based on information obtained from a
- 4 television station's public inspection file, and not on private communications with a
- 5 candidate or political party committee. See id.

6 It appears that TDS sells two categories of data to political clients; proprietary

data, including survey data, donor files, and personal contact information, and public

data, including master voter files from election offices and phone records. TDS's website

states that, among other things, it can update public voter lists by comparing addresses to

10 the national change of address database to reduce the number of "bad" addresses;

11 identifying voters who voted in previous elections; and identifying voters who prefer

early and absentee voting, allowing campaigns to "use this information to target mailings

13 timed to reach particular voters when they are most likely to be voting."25

In this case, however, it appears that Blue Point purchased a commoditized list containing information about Republican primary voters who had requested absentee

ballots in El Paso County, not a specially packaged list, and that Blue Point did not ask

17 for advice from TDS as to the type of list to use or how best to use the list. Because the

available information suggests that CFGSA purchased unenhanced absentee voter data

from TDS, the publicly available source safe harbor appears to apply.

B. Conduct Standards

Even if the publicly available safe harbor does not apply, it appears that CFGSA did not engage in coordination with the Committee. While Farina's affidavit asserts that

TDS Website, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/services.html (last visited Dec. 4, 2009).

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- 1 TDS sold the same voter list to Blue Point for CFGSA's direct-mail efforts in the 5th
- 2 District, it does not allege that Blue Point or CFGSA requested the same voter list used
- 3 by the Lamborn Committee or received this voter list in response to a suggestion by
- 4 Jonathan Hotaling.²⁶ Moreover, available information suggests that the voter list
- 5 requested and received by Blue Point was not specially packaged; that Jonathan Hotaling
- 6 was not informed of the reason for requesting the voter list or CFGSA's projects, plans,
- 7 activities or needs; that Hotaling did not discuss the plans, projects, activities, or needs of
- 8 the Lamborn campaign or list vendors for a particular Congressional District or area in
- 9 Colorado; and that CFGSA took steps to avoid employing vendors used by the Lamborn
- 10 campaign.²⁷

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Even if Farina's affidavit is true, brief and vague discussions about a voter list do not constitute "substantial discussions" about Lamborn's plans, projects, activities or needs, or establish that the CFGSA's flyers were created, produced, or distributed after such discussions. *Cf.* MUR 5887 (RMSP PAC), Factual and Legal Analysis (possible substantial discussions where candidate's campaign manager reportedly "hounded" third party and "kept telling" the third party to get ads on the air). Nor is the alleged conduct sufficient to meet the "request or suggestion," "material involvement," or "common vendor" conduct standards. Thus, the available facts do not establish that this transaction met any of the conduct standards in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a).

See Farina Aff. ¶ 9-13 (discussing sale of list to CFGSA).

See generally MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶ 5-16.

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1 IV. <u>CONCLUSION</u>

- 2 Based on the foregoing, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Lamborn
- 3 for Congress and Kathleen Ann Rockefeller, in her official capacity as Treasurer, violated
- 4 2 U.S.C §§ 441b and 434(b).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Respondent: Club for Growth State Action MUR: 6038

1 I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

- This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Club for Growth State Action
- 3 ("CFGSA") coordinated its communications with Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn
- 4 Committee") by using the same voter list used by the Lamborn campaign to send flyers attacking
- 5 Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 eampaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional
- 6 District. The complaint also requests that, based on new information, the Federal Election
- 7 Commission ("the Commission") reopen MUR 5774, which concerned similar allegations
- 8 against the same respondents.
- 9 CFGSA, however, appears to have purchased an unenhanced list containing publicly-
- 10 available voter data from TDS, and does not appear to have met any of the coordination conduct
- 11 standards. Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe that CFGSA violated
- 12 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

13 II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

14 A. 2006 Complaint

- Doug Lamborn was a candidate in the open Republican Primary in Colorado's 5th
- 16 Congressional District, beld on August 8, 2006, and won the nomination with 27 percent of the
- 17 vote. In a complaint filed in 2006, MUR 5774, Robert Gardner alleged that Lamborn's
- 18 authorized committee obtained the names and addresses of absentee voters from the El Paso
- 19 County Clerk and Recorder and provided them to CFGSA and Christian Coalition, and that these
- 20 organizations used the addresses to send mailers to voters attacking two of Lamborn's primary

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- l opponents, Jeff Crank and Lionel Rivera, in July 2006. The 2006 complaint relied on a series of
- 2 inferences that two recipients received the flyers at their work addresses, which they had used
- 3 to request absentee ballots; that only the Lamborn Committee and four other entities had
- 4 requested absentee voter data from the county clerk's office; and that the Lamborn Committee
- 5 and Christian Coalition were closely connected because Jonathan Hotaling, Lamborn's campaign
- 6 manager, and Mark Hotaling, the Executive Director of Christian Coalition, are brothers to
- 7 conclude that CFGSA and Christian Coalition received the addresses from the Lamborn
- 8 Committee. Because the allegations were speculative, and the respondents provided information
- 9 sufficient to rebut them, the Commission found no reason to believe that the respondents violated
- 10 the Act.

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B. 2008 Complaint

In 2008, a different complainant, Matthew Werner, submitted the instant complaint styled as a "Request to Reopen" MUR 5774. Although this complaint incorporates by reference the information from the 2006 complaint, it also provides new information alleging that TDS sold the same voter list to CFGSA through a sub-vendor, Blue Point LLC, which used the absentee voter list to send CFGSA mailers criticizing Lamborn's primary opponents for their positions on tax issues.²

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See MUR 5774 (Lamborn for Congress), First General Counsel's Report dated Nov. 17, 2006, at 4, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A19.pdf, and Certification dated Nov. 27, 2006, available at http://eqs.nictusa.com/eqsdocs/00005A1A.pdf.

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- 1 voters in the 5th District³ and identified which voters had returned their absentee ballots.⁴
- 2 Many voters in Colorado vote by absentee ballot,⁵ and in the 2006 5th District Republican
- 3 primary, early and absentee votes accounted for 42.6 percent of all ballots cast. 6 Lamborn's
- 4 campaign reportedly targeted absentee voters, using the absentee voter list to call and canvass
- 5 voters and send multiple direct-mail flyers. Absentee ballots apparently played a determinative
- 6 role in the election: before absentee votes were counted, Lamborn's opponent, Jeff Crank, was
- 7 ahead in the vote count, but Lamborn won when El Paso County posted the results from its
- 8 absentee voters. Ionathan Hotaling reportedly commented, "We out-hustled the other
- 9 campaigns on the absentees, and we won absentees overwhelmingly, 2-to-1 over Jeff Crank. ...
- 10 Other candidates were out talking to the general populace, but when we knew a voter had a ballot
- 11 in their hand, we went to them."9

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Emery, supra n. 3

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1 The complaint centers on the following players and transactions.

2 **PLAYERS**

- TDS, a political campaign data management firm headquartered in Grand Junction, 3 4 Colorado, that collects, assembles, and sells voter data information, including donor files, survey data, personal contact information, master voter files, and phone records. The 5 6 CEO and Chairman of TDS is Tom Biorkland. 10
- 7 Jonathan Hotaling, who, at the time of the alleged coordination, was the campaign 8 manager for Lamborn and a board member of TDS.11
- 9 Liberty Service Corp. (a/k/a Liberty Media), a sub-vendor owned and operated by 10 Jonathan Hotaling. 12 Liberty Service Corp. contracted with Lamborn for Congress during the 2006 election cycle to perform campaign management services, including 12 database management and enhancement, and contracted with TDS to obtain their 13 specialized data management and enhancement services.
- 14 CFGSA, a 501(e)(4) organization that serves as the "umbrella group" for Club for Growth's state affiliates. 13 15
- 16 Blue Point LLC, a political consulting firm hired by CFGSA to create, design, print, and mail three anti-tax flyers to absentee voters in El Paso County, Colorado, over the 17 course of four days in July 2006. 14 Christopher Baker is the principal of Blue Point. 15 18

ALLEGED TRANSACTIONS

20 TDS collected data identifying which voters had requested absentee voters and which 21 voters had returned their absentee ballots from Jonathan Hotaling and from county clerks

¹⁰ See Farina Aff. at ¶ 3; TDS Website, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/contact.html (last visited Sept. 14, 2009).

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Baker Aff. at ¶2; MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶2; cf. MUR 5609 (Club for Growth), First General Counsel's Report dated Aug. 5, 2005, at 4, available at http://cgs.nictusa.com/egsdocs/00004846.pdf.

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- and recorders. 16 TDS then "enhanced" this data using approximately 10-14 different processes and deemed it fit for resale. 17
- TDS sold the enhanced absentee voter data to Liberty Service Corp., a sub-vendor owned by Jonathan Hotaling that provided media and fundraising consulting to the Lamborn Committee. The Lamborn campaign apparently used this voter list to target absentee voters. 19
- TDS also sold the absentee voter list to Blue Point, which used it to send CFGSA mail pieces. Farina allegedly received a call from a representative of Blue Point, presumably Christopher Baker, and transferred the call to Tom Bjorkland, who later told Farina that the voter data would be used by CFGSA as part of its efforts in the 5th District. Bjorkland also allegedly informed Farina that Jonathan Hotaling had referred Blue Point to TDS and instructed Farina not to tell anyone about this because it was "a gray area."

III. <u>LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>

- 14 According to the complaint, CFGSA coordinated with the Lamborn Committee when it
- 15 used the same voter lists to send flyers attacking Lamborn's opponents in the 5th District
- 16 Republican primary, resulting in prohibited in-kind contributions. See 2 U.S.C. § 441b. Under
- 17 the Act, an expenditure made by any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at
- 18 the request or suggestion of 'a candidate constitutes an in-kind contribution. See 2 U.S.C.
- 19 § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20(a). A communication is coordinated with a candidate or

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 6.

See TDS Services, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/services.html (last visited Sept. 14, 2009).

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 7-8; see also Lamborn for Congress, 2006 July Quarterly Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$15,000 disbursement to Liberty Service Corp. for media and fundraising consulting).

See Emery, supra n.6; cf. MUR 5774, Complaint at 2 (identifying Lamborn for Congress as a recipient of absentee voter data from the El Paso County Clerk and Recorder); Lamborn for Congress, 2006 Pre-Primary Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$250 disbursement to El Paso County Clerk and Recorder for absentee voter information); Lamborn for Congress, Amended July Quarterly Report (amended Sept. 25, 2009) (listing \$450 disbursement for absentee voter information).

See Farina Aff. at ¶ 10-13; Baker Aff. at ¶ 6-10; MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶ 7, 8, 10.

Sec Farma Aff. at ¶ 10.

See id. at ¶ 11. This paragraph states, "I referred the caller from Blue Point to Tom Bjorkland. He told me that John Hotaling had referred Blue Point to TDS, and he also told me not to tell anyone about it, because it was, in his words, 'a gray area." Although it is unclear from this wording whether "he" refers to the caller from Blue Point or Bjorkland, based on Christopher Baker's affidavit attesting that he had no knowledge that TDS directly or indirectly provided voter lists to the Lamborn campaign, see Baker Aff. at ¶ 10-12, we assume that Bjorkland was the source of this information.

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- 1 candidate committee when: (1) the communication is paid for by a person other than that
- 2 candidate, authorized committee or agent thereof; (2) the communication satisfies at least one of
- 3 the four "content" standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c);²³ and (3) the communication
- 4 satisfies at least one of the six "conduct" standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d). See
- 5 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a).
- The first and second prongs of the coordination regulations are met. The flyers were paid
- 7 for by CFGSA, not the Lamborn Committee, see 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1), and the mailings were
- 8 "public communications" identifying Lamborn's primary opponents, directed to 5th District
- 9 absentee voters, and sent within 90 or 120 days before the primary election.²⁴ See 11 C.F.R.
- 10 § 109.21(e)(4). Therefore, the only question is whether the alleged activities satisfy any of the
- 11 conduct standards.

¹²

After the decision in Shays v. FEC, 414 F.3d 76 (D.C. Cir. 2005) (Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court's invalidation of the fourth, or "public communication," content standard of the coordinated communications regulation), the Commission made revisions to 11 C.F.R. § 109.21 that became effective July 10, 2006. In a subsequent challenge by Shays, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia held that the Commission's content and conduct standards of the coordinated communications regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c) and (d) violated the Administrative Procedure Act; however, the court did not vacate the regulations or enjoin the Commission from enforcing them. See Shays v. FEC, 508 F.Supp.2d 10, 70-71 (D.D.C. Sept. 12, 2007) (Shays III) (granting in part and denying in part the respective parties' motions for summary judgment). The D.C. Circuit affirmed the district court with respect to, Inter alia, the content standard for public communications made before the time frames specified in the standard, and the rule for when former campaign employees and common vendors may share material information with other persons who finance public communications. See Shays v. FEC, 528 F.3d 914 (D.C. Cir. 2008) (Shays III Appeal). On October 8, 2009, the Commission began a rulemaking to comply with this ruling. See Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, Coordinated Communications, 74 Fed. Reg. 53,893 (Oct. 21, 2009).

Effective July 10, 2006, section 109.21(c) requires a "public communication" within 90 days of a House or Senate election, as opposed to the previous 120-day standard. See Explanation and Justification, Coordinated Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33,190, 33,197-98 (Jul. 10, 2006). It is unclear whether the mailers in this case were distributed before or after the effective date of this change, but the alleged activities appear to have occurred well within either time frame – the July 11, 13, 15, and 18, 2006 dates cited in the complaint were 28 or fewer days before the primary election. See Complaint at 2.

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A. Publicly Available Source Safe Harbor

Before applying the conduct standards, we first examine a threshold issue of whether the voter data was obtained from a "publicly available source," and is thus excluded from the "material involvement," "substantial discussion," "common vendor," and "former employee" conduct standards. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(d)(2)-(5); Revised Explanation and Justification. Coordinated Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33,190, 33,205 (Jun. 8, 2006). Under this safe harbor, a communication that uses public information (e.g., information from newspaper or magazine articles, candidate speeches or interviews, materials on a candidate's website or other publicly available website, transcripts from television shows, and press releases) is not a coordinated communication unless it meets the "request or suggestion" conduct standard. See Revised E&J, 71 Fed. Reg. at 33,205. The person paying for the communication bears the burden of showing that the information used in creating, producing, or distributing the communication was obtained from a publicly available source - for example, by demonstrating that media buying strategies regarding a communication were based on information obtained from a television station's public inspection file, and not on private communications with a candidate or political party committee. See id. It appears that TDS sells two entegories of data to political clients: proprietary data. including survey data, donor files, and personal contact information, and public data, including master voter files from election offices, phone records. Moreover, it appears that TDS did not sell raw data obtained from the El Paso County Clerk and Recorder to Liberty Service, but instead sold "processed" or "enhanced" data. While it is unclear what processes TDS uses to enhance the absentee voter data sold here, its website states that, among other things, it can update public voter lists by comparing addresses to the national change of address database to

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- 1 reduce the number of "bad" addresses; identifying voters who voted in previous elections; and
- 2 identifying voters who prefer early and absentee voting, allowing campaigns to "use this
- 3 information to target mailings timed to reach particular voters when they are most likely to be
- 4 voting." Thus, the voter list sold by TDS to Liberty Service does not appear to be covered by
- 5 the publicly available source safe harbor.

CFGSA states, however, that Blue Point purchased a "commoditized" list containing information about Republican primary voters who had requested absentee ballots in El Paso County, not a specially packaged list, and that Blue Point did not ask for advice from TDS as to the type of list to use or how best to use the list. Because the available information suggests that CFGSA purchased unenhanced absentee voter data from TDS, the publicly available source safe harbor appears to apply.

B. Club for Growth State Action

Even if the safe harbor does not apply, CFGSA's response appears to have sufficiently refuted the allegation that it engaged in coordination. While Farina's affidavit asserts that TDS sold the same voter list to Blue Point for CFGSA's direct-mail efforts in the 5th District, it does not allege that Blue Point or CFGSA requested the same voter list used by the Lamborn Committee or received this voter list in response to a suggestion by Jonathan Hotaling.

Moreover, Christopher Baker attests that the voter list requested and received by Blue Point was not specially packaged; that he did not inform Jonathan Hotaling of the reason for requesting the voter list or mention CFGSA or its proposed mailers or any other of its projects, plans, activities or needs; that he did not discuss with Hotaling the plans, projects, activities, or needs of the

TDS Website, at http://tacticaldatasolutions.net/services.html (last visited Dec. 4, 2009).

See CFGSA Response at 6-7; Baker Aff. at ¶¶ 12-13.

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1 Lamborn campaign or list vendors for a particular Congressional District or area in Colorado;

2 and that he took steps to avoid employing vendors used by the Lamborn campaign.²⁷

Even if Farina's affidavit is true, brief and vague discussions about a voter list do not constitute "substantial discussions" about Lamborn's plans, projects, activities or needs, or

5 establish that the CFGSA's flyers were created, produced, or distributed after such discussions.

Cf. MUR 5887 (RMSP PAC), Factual and Legal Analysis (possible substantial discussions

where candidate's campaign manager reportedly "hounded" third party and "kept telling" the

third party to get ads on the air). Nor is the alleged conduct sufficient to meet the "request or

suggestion," "material involvement," or "common vendor" conduct standards. Based on the

quality of the competing affidavits, the available facts do not establish that CFGSA met any of

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See generally Baker Aff. at ¶¶ 4-13; MUR 5774, Baker Aff. at ¶¶ 5-16; see also CFGSA Response at 5-8.

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Club for Growth State Action

- the conduct standards in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a).28 Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to
- 2 believe that Club for Growth State Action violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

CFGSA also asserts that the Commission's no-reason-to-believe finding on the 2006 complaint bars examination of the 2008 complaint on the grounds of res judicata. Because res judicata is an affirmative defense, see FED. R. CIV. P. 8(c)(1), and the Commission finds no reason to believe that CFGSA violated the Act in the instant matter, the Commission need not reach this issue. Nonetheless, in the interest of completeness, we conclude that the prior no-reason-to-believe finding does not preclude Commission consideration of this complaint. Res judicata, which includes claim and issue preclusion, applies to administrative agency decisions only when the agency acted "in a judicial capacity and resolved disputed issues of fact properly before it which the parties have had an adequate opportunity to litigate." U.S. v. Utah Construction and Mining Company, 384 U.S. 394, 421-22 (1966); see also Astoria Fed. Sav. & Loan Ass'n v. Solimino, 501 U.S. 104, 111 (1991). This same analysis applies to determine whether an agency's actions preclude its own subsequent consideration. See Duvall v. Attorney Gen. of the U.S., 436 F.3d 382 (3d Cir. 2006).

Claim and issue preclusion do not apply here; the Commission does not act in a judicial capacity at the reason to believe stage. See F7C v. Standard Oil Co. of Calif., 449 U.S. 232, 241-243 (1980) ("[T]he Commission's averment of 'reason to believe' that Socal was violating the Act is not a definitive statement of position. It represents a threshold determination that further inquiry is warranted and that a complaint should initiate proceedings. ... Thus, the averment of reason to believe is a prerequisite to a definitive agency position on the question whether Socal violated the Act, but itself is a determination only that adjudicatory proceedings will commence."); cf. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Comm. v. FEC, 660 F.2d 773, 778 n.27 (D.C. Cir. 1980) (rejecting argument that claim and issue preclusion prevented court from reviewing Commission's no-reason-tobelieve finding because the Act provides for judicial review), rev'd an other grounds, 454 U.S. 27, 39-41 (1981). Indued, the reason to believe stage is simply the statutory mechanism by which the Commission initiates an investigation. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(2). Moreover, not only does the 2008 complaint include new information unknown to the 2006 complainant, but the two complainants are different, and there is no known privity between them. See Taylor v. Sturgell, 128 S.Ct. 2161, 2172-2173, 2176, 2178 (2008) (rejecting preclusion based on "virtual representation" of a non-party by a party in a prior proceeding); Federal Trade Comm'n v. Raladam, 316 U.S. 149, 150, 153 (1942) (judicial vacatur of a cease and desist order based on an insufficient factual reword to support charges of unfair competition did not preclude a second agency proceeding and cease and desist order based on an improved record).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Respondent: Mark Hotaling MUR: 6038

I	This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn
2	Committee") coordinated its communications with Christian Coalition of Colorado ("Christian
3	Coalition") through flyers that Christian Coalition sent to voters attacking Doug Lamborn's
4	primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional District. The
5	eomplaint further alleges that Jonathan Hotaling, while serving on the Board of Tactical Data
6	Solutions, Inc. ("TDS"), a political consulting company, instructed a TDS employee to provide
7	the same voter list data to Christian Coalition that TDS had sold to the Lamborn Committee.
8	Additionally, the complaint alleges that Mark Hotaling, Executive Director of Christian
9	Coalition, contacted TDS on behalf of Christian Coalition to purchase the Lamborn Committee
10	voter list data.
11	However, even if the allegations are true, the actions by Mark Hotaling do not appear to
12	result in personal liability under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended
13	("Act"). Therefore, since there is no personal liability based on facts within the complaint or in
14	the Commission's possession, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Mark Hotaling
15	violated the Act.

Act.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

MUR: 6038

Respondent: Chuck Gosnell

This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn 1 Committee") coordinated its communications with Christian Coalition of Colorado ("Christian 2 Coalition") through flyers that Christian Coalition sent to voters attacking Doug Lamborn's 3 primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional District. The 4 5 complaint further alleges that Jonathan Hotaling, while serving on the Board of Tactical Data 6 Solutions, Inc. ("TDS"), a political data company, instructed a TDS employee to provide the 7 same voter list data to Christian Coalition that TDS had sold to the Lamborn Committee. 8 However, even if the allegations are true, there is no information that Chuck Gosnell, 9 President of Christian Coalition, was personally involved in the voter list transactions, and thus it docs not appear that he has violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended 10 ("Act"). Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Chuck Gosnell violated the 11

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

MUR: 6038

Respondent: Liberty Service Corp. and Jonathan Hotaling

1 This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn 2 Committee") coordinated its communications with Club for Growth State Action ("Club for Growth") and Christian Coalition of Colorado ("Christian Coalition") through flyers attacking 3 4 Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional 5 District. The complaint alleges that in 2006, Tactical Data Solutions, Inc. ("TDS"), a political data 6 firm, collected and sold voter data information for Colorado's 5th CD primary election to 7 8 (1) Liberty Service Corp. (a/k/a Liberty Media), a sub-vendor owned and operated by Jonathan 9 Hotaling, Lamborn's campaign manager, which in turn sold the data to Lamborn for Congress; 10 (2) Blue Point, LLC, a sub-vendor referred to TDS by Jonathan Hotaling, which in turn sold the 11 data to Club for Growth; and (3) Christian Coalition, run by Mark Hotaling, the brother of 12 Jonathan Hotaling. The complaint further alleges that Jonathan Hotaling, while serving on the 13 Board of TDS, instructed a TDS employee to provide the Lamhorn Committee voter list data to 14 Christian Coalition. 15 In response, Jonathan Hotaling admits that Liberty Service purchased data from TDS but 16 states that neither he nor the Lamborn Committee ever expressed the needs, wants, or desires of 17 the campaign to the other entities alleged in the complaint. Hotaling also asserts that none of the

conversations he allegedly had with Alan Farina, who supplied an affidavit in support of the

complaint, octually occurred, and Hotaling claims that Farina is a disgruntled employee who

joined with the Jeff Crank campaign to discredit Lamborn.

MUR 6038 Factual and Legal Analysis Liberty Service Corp. and Jonathan Hotaling

- 1 However, even if the allegations are true, the actions by vendor Liberty Service and its
- 2 owner, Jonathan Hotaling, do not appear to be a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 3 of 1971, as amended ("Act"). Therefore, since there is no liability based on facts within the
- 4 complaint and on publicly-available information, the Commission finds no reason to believe that
- 5 Liberty Service Corp. and Jonathan Hotaling violated the Act.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

MUR: 6038

Respondent: Blue Point LLC and Christopher Baker

Blue Point LLC and Christopher Baker violated the Act.

This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn Committee") coordinated its communications with Club for Growth State Action ("Club for Growth") through flyers that Club for Growth sent to voters attacking Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional District. The complaint alleges that Club for Growth hired Blue Point LLC ("Blue Point"), a political consulting firm, and Blue Point's Principal, Christopher Baker, to create and distribute the mailers. The complainant, a former employee of Tactical Data Solutions, Inc. ("TDS"), the company that sold the voter list data for the mailings to Blue Point, alleges that a representative from Blue Point informed him that Blue Point was referred to TDS by Jonathan Hotaling, the Lamborn Committee's campaign manager. Blue Point and Christopher Baker deny these allegations.

However, even if the allegations are true, the actions by vendor Blue Point and its Principal, Christopher Baker, do not appear to be a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"). Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe that

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

MUR: 6038

Respondent: Tactical Data Solutions, Inc. and
Tom Bjorklund

This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn 1 2 Committee") coordinated its communications with Club for Growth State Action ("Club for Growth") and Christian Coalition of Colorado ("Christian Coalition") through flyers attacking 3 Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional 4 5 District. The complaint alleges that in 2006, Tactical Data Solutions, Inc. ("TDS"), a political data 6 firm, collected and sold voter data information for Colorado's 5th CD primary election to 7 (1) Liberty Service Corp. (a/k/a Liberty Mcdia), a sub-vendor owned and operated by Jonathan 8 9 Hotaling, Lamborn's campaign manager, which in turn sold the data to Lamborn for Congress; 10 (2) Blue Point, LLC, a sub-vendor referred to TDS by Jonathan Hotaling, which in turn sold the 11 data to Club for Growth: and (3) Christian Coalition, run by Mark Hotaling, the brother of 12 Jonathan Hotaling. The complaint further alleges that Jonathan Hotaling, while serving on the Board of TDS, instructed a TDS employee to provide the Lamborn Committee voter list data to 13 14 Christian Coalition. Additionally, the complaint alleges that Tom Bjorklund, Chief Executive 15 Officer for TDS, was involved in providing the Lamborn Committee voter data to Christian 16 Coalition and Club for Growth. TDS denies these allegations, claiming that it sold the data to cach of these entities at fair market value, and it has done business with Christian Coalition and 17 Club for Growth in the past. 18 However, even if the allegations are true, the actions by vendor TDS and its Chief 19

Executive Officer, Tom Bjorklund, do not appear to result in a violation under the Federal

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Factual and Legal Analysis
Tactical Data Solutions, Inc.

- 1 Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"). Therefore, the Commission finds no
- 2 reason to believe that Tactical Data Solutions, Inc. and Tom Bjorklund violated the Act.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Respondent: Doug Lamborn MUR: 6038

1	This matter arises out of a complaint alleging that Lamborn for Congress ("Lamborn
2	Committee") coordinated its communications with Club for Growth State Action ("Club for
3	Growth") and Christian Coalition of Colorado ("Christian Coalition") through flyers attacking
4	Doug Lamborn's primary opponents during his 2006 campaign for Colorado's 5th Congressional
5	District. The complaint further alleges that Jonathan Hotaling, while serving as campaign
6	manager for the Lumborn Committee as well as on the Board of Tactical Data Solutions, Inc.
7	("TDS"), a political data company, instructed a TDS employee to provide the same voter list data
8	to Christian Coalition and Club for Growth that TDS had sold to the Lamborn Committee. Doug
9	Lamborn denies these allegations. The available information does not indicate that Doug
10	Lamborn was personally involved in the voter list transactions, or in the Club for Growth's or
11	Christian Coalition's mailings.
12	Accordingly, the Commission finds there is no reason to believe that Doug Lamborn
12	violated the Rederal Election Compaign Act of 1971, as amended in this matter